1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[1] CHAPTER 1

THE FRONTIER REGION

133 Liang Shan is a common frontier of Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan provinces. The Ta-liang Shan range, which branches out from the Minya Konka mountain range in Sikang, can be divided into four main branches. The first branch, located in the extreme north, occupies an area between O-pien and Ma-pien counties in Szechwan. In the Lolo region, it is called the Wan-shih P'ing mountain range, which also forms the watershed between the Ta-tu Ho and Ma-pien Ho. The second branch is the main Ta-liang Shan mountain range. Its northern part stretches southward from Huang-mao Kang across Huang-ts'ao P'ing, Yen-feng Shan, and Ta-feng Ting to the southern Huang-mao Kang and ends at Lung-t'ou Shan on the bank of the Chin-sha Chiang. It is the watershed between the Mei-ku Ho and Hsi-su Ho. The third branch covers the Wu-p'ao Lolo area and includes the Wu-p'ao Shan of the Chuhêh area. It is also the watershed between the Mei-ku Ho and Hsi-ch'i Ho. The fourth branch, the Pa-ch'i mountain range, is located between Chao-chüeh and Ning-nan in Sikang and forms the watershed between the Hsi-ch'i Ho and the Hui-tung Ho. Huang-mao Kang is traditionally considered the dividing line between the Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan. The region from Huang-mao Kang westward to the east side of Hui-tung Ho, in which lies Ta-liang Shan, belongs to Chao-chüeh county. To the east of Huang-mao Kang is Hsiao-liang Shan. This area belongs to Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien counties and is commonly called the Lei-Ma-P'ing-O frontier region. It is located in the fifth administrative area of southwestern Szechwan (see Maps 1 and 2).

131 177 Liang Shan has been occupied by the Lolo since ancient times. The Han-Chinese seldom travel in these areas. The headquarters of the Lolo are located in Ta-liang Shan, where they have never come under Han-Chinese influence. Hsiao-liang Shan, on the other hand, is a trading post between the Lolo and the Han-Chinese, who both inhabit the area heterogeneously. In the course of time, the controlling influence there has changed hands from one side to another. Whenever Han-Chinese influence was predominant, the major part of the

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

MAP 1

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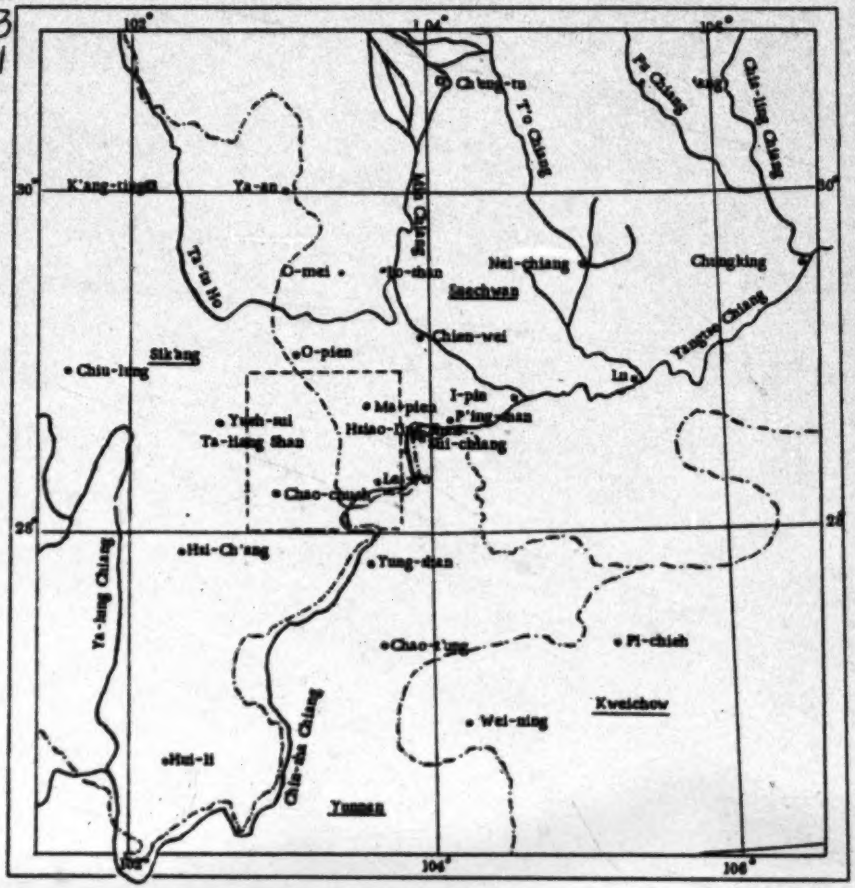
An Outline Map of the Border Regions of Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan



1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

MAP 2

Map of Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan

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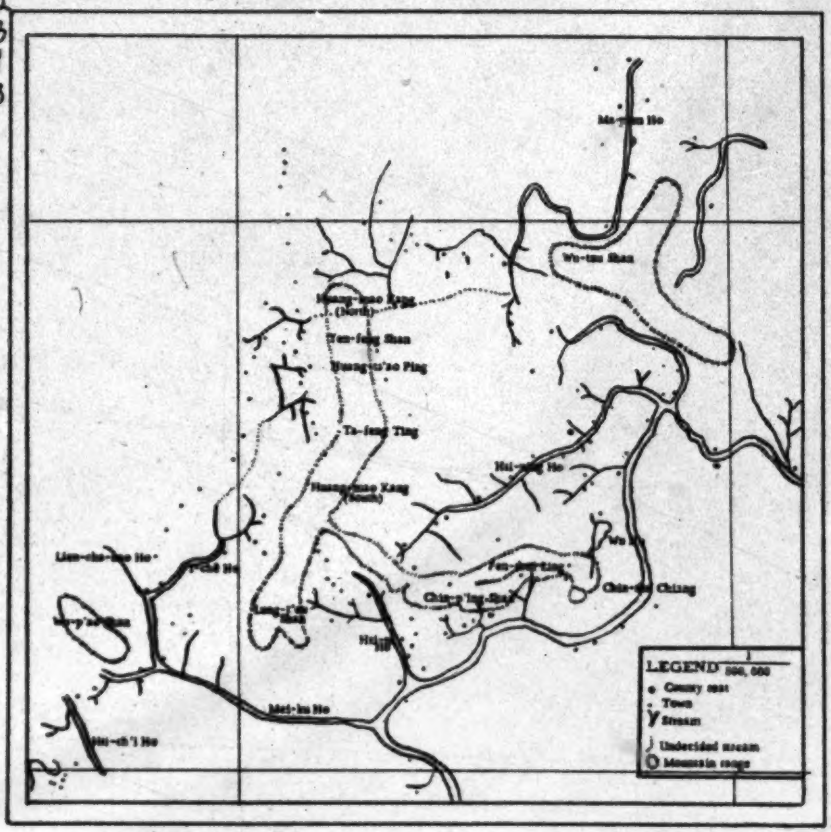

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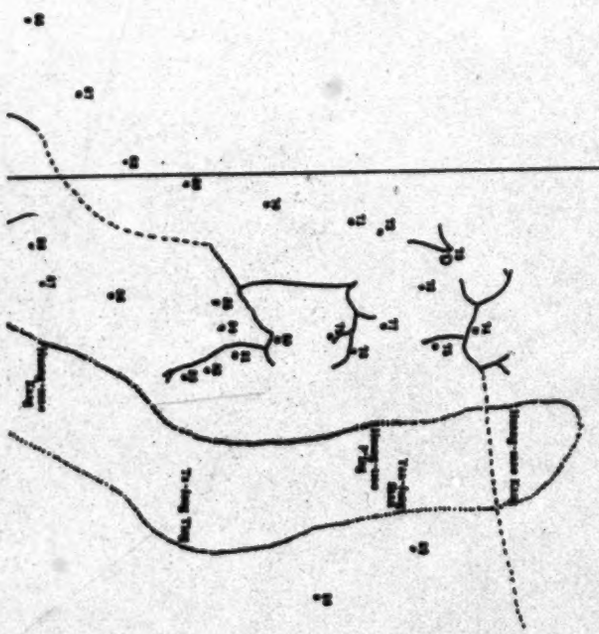

MAPS (Part I)

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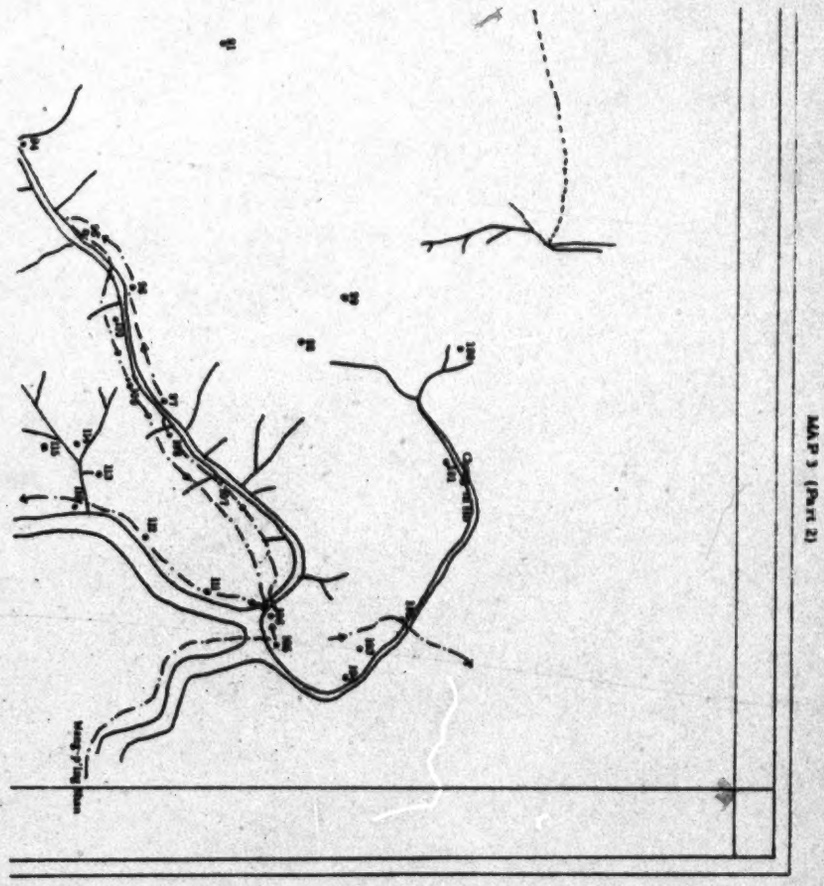

MAP 3 (Part 2)

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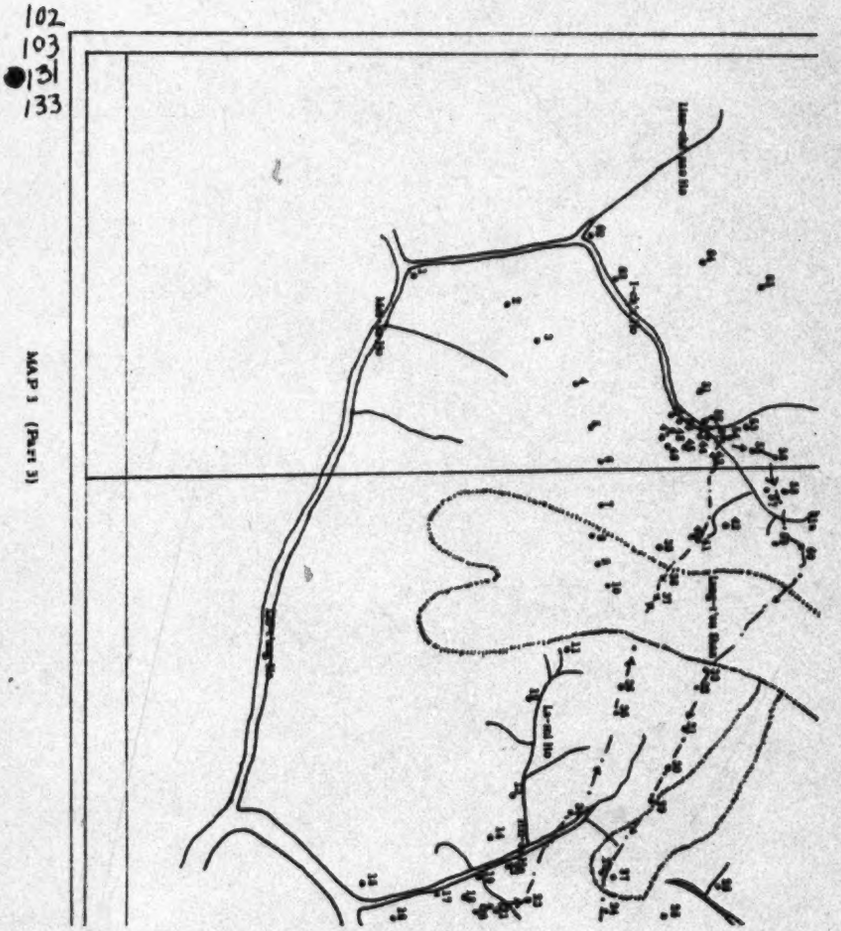

MAP 1 (Part 3)

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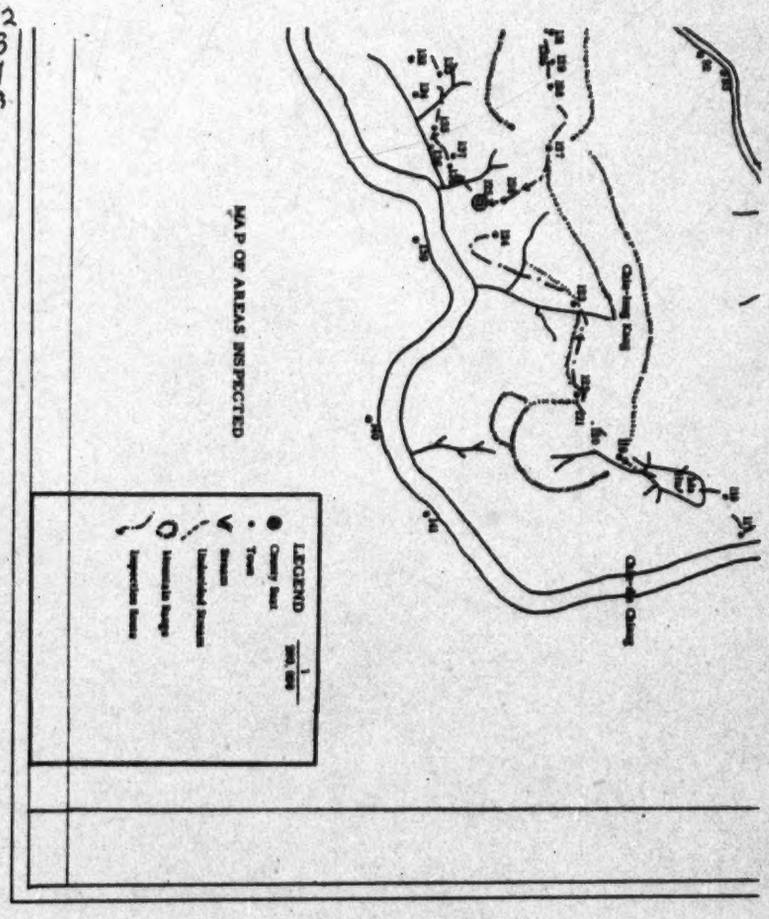

MAP 5 (Part 1)

131 Lolo retreated westward across Huang-mao Kang to Ta-liang
177 Shan. When Han-Chinese influence declined, the Lolo usually seized the opportunity to rebel. They came out of the mountains to disturb the different areas of the Hsiao-liang Shan so that in the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area there [2] was no peace.

101 Actually the Lolo regions are not limited to the Ta-liang
131 and Hsiao-liang Shan. In Sikang there are, besides Chao-chüeh, eight counties of the Ning-nan district and the Chiu-lung county of the K'ang-ting district, in which is also distributed a number of Lolo families. According to reports by various experts there is a Lolo population of about 600,000 in the ten counties of Sikang. East of the county seats of Yüeh-sui and Chao-chüeh [3] in the Ta-liang Shan area live comparatively pure Lolo clans, which have their own social system and have never been assimilated by Han-Chinese culture.

[162]

The region from the Chin-sha Chiang southward within Yunnan is also inhabited by the Lolo. Of the population in Yunnan, nine out of ten who live in the plains are Han-Chinese, while those who live scattered in the high hills and mountain valleys are the un-Sinicized groups. In the area south of K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pai-i, who are closely connected with the Thai-Shan people, are the main ethnic group. From here northward the un-Sinicized tribes are mainly Lolo or those who have close blood relationship with the Lolo, like the Moso and the Lisu. The Lolo have also moved from K'un-ming and Ta-li southward and eventually extended outside of Yunnan to the Indochina and Burma borders, where their traces are still visible. During 1942 the author stayed in Yunnan for eight or nine months and carefully observed the un-Sinicized people in that province. By checking the reports from different experts, he estimated that the Lolo and related tribes in Yunnan amounted to at least one million.

[162]

101 However, the Lolo tribes who inhabit Yunnan are some-
177 what different from those who inhabit Szechwan and Sikang. Because the Lolo in Yunnan intermarry with neighboring nationalities, their physical appearance has changed slightly; culturally, no matter whether it is in material life or in customs and traditions, they are considerably influenced by the Han-Chinese. There are many Lolo who have become so Sinicized that they identify themselves with Han-Chinese and do not want to be called Lolo.

[142]

000 After this general picture of the distribution of the Lolo in Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan, we can go further to

000 describe the conditions of the Lolo in the Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan area.

133 It has been mentioned before that the main range of Ta-liang Shan is oriented from north to south. On the eastern side of the southernmost mountain range are eight sections of small ridges, which consitute the foothills. These start from Ta-ku Tui in the north and extend southward to the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, all in an easterly direction, to give Liang Shan the shape of a multiple-legged insect; they all end at the side of the Hsi-su Ho. These eight ridges are commonly known as Pa Sai. The southern section of the Pa Sai faces the river with its steep overhanging cliffs, while its northern section connects with the Lung-t'ou Shan where there are many precipices and ancient forests. During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties the 175 Chinese emperors made great efforts to develop this frontier 648 area. From 1796 until 1821, Chinese influence gradually reached the eastern part of Huang-mao Kang. In 1838 a rebellion started. The Lolo occupied the Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui, and the Chinese army had to retreat to Shan-Leng Kang, where they constructed a fortress for self-defense. They also established an outpost at Ma-ching-tzu as a support for Shan-Leng Kang. All Han-Chinese who lived in places west of Hsi-su Ho, such as Mu-kou P'o and La-mi, withdrew successively to the east bank of the river, and a Lolo t'u-szu [native chief], or Yang T'u-szu, was established at Ch'ien-wan-kuan [4] to hold together the Lolo in areas both near and distant.

175 At the northern end of Pa Sai the Han-Chinese established 439 a trading post in order to expand their influence westward. North of Shan-Leng Kang is Lan-pa-tzu and further north is 648 Ku-niu Pa. Both these villages can be reached by climbing the mountains from Hsi-ning on the border of P'ing-shan county. From Huang-ts'ao P'ing eastward in Ma-pien county is Yu-cha P'ing which the Han-Chinese have developed for cultivation. During the period of prosperity in the Ch'ing dynasty a large trading post was established there for trade with the Lolo. Further northward lies the Yen-feng Shan area where there are dangerous precipices, overhanging cliffs, old forests, and barren wilderness inaccessible to the Han-Chinese.

● 131 The northernmost entrance to Ta-liang Shan is Wa-hai. It is a part of the Ta-liang Shan area and occupies quite a wide territory about several tens of li from east to west. Wa-hai is the only entrance to Ta-liang Shan from Ma-pien and O-pien. The distance from Wa-hai to either county seat is about 200 li.

131 It can be reached from Ma-pien westward across Yüeh-erh Pa and Nan-mu P'ing, and by climbing Huang-mao Kang; or from O-pien southward across Ti-tzu Yai and Szu-li P'ing to Wan-shih P'ing, and by passing through a deep forest. From Wa-hai southward are the central regions of Ta-liang Shan. Therefore Wa-hai is the most important junction on the main communication line.

A little more than 200 li south of Wa-hai is the center of Ta-liang Shan called Niu-niu Pa. It is located in the junction between the I-ch'ê Ho and the Lien-cha-nao Ho as they flow into the Mei-ku Ho. It is a level plain with the big mountains directly behind and water on the other three sides. As the communication center of Liang Shan, Niu-niu Pa leads to Lei-po on the east, Yüeh-sui on the west, Chao-chüeh on the southwest, and Wa-hai on the north. It can also be reached from O-pien and Ma-pien. Because of its precipitous strategic position it is an important place for the conquest of Liang Shan.

In 1909 a Britisher named Donald Burk led his dozen or
175 more followers from Chien-ch'ang for an exploration trip to
648 Liang Shan, but when his team reached Lien-cha-nao, he was killed by the Lolo and his followers were captured and sold as slaves. The incident almost caused a serious Sino-British dispute. At that time the Chinese governor-general of Szechwan, Chao Erh-feng, immediately ordered the government troops stationed in Chien-ch'ang, O-pien, and Ma-pien to attack Liang Shan with Niu-niu Pa as their destination. Actually, what the government troops did was to employ a native pao-t'ou [headman-protector] as their guide to negotiate for their passage through the region. When they reached Lien-cha-nao, they burned several houses and killed several Lolo. Then they returned to the old military post at Chiao-chio where they built a city and established Chao-chüeh county. Chao Erh-feng undertook to make a drastic change in the administration of the Liang Shan Lolo area. He planned to build a thoroughfare between Lei-po and Chien-ch'ang. The section in Chien-ch'ang was already connected with Chao-chüeh across the Mei-ku Ho to reach Yeh-lu-na-ta. The section in Lei-po was only built to the nearby Shan-leng Kang when work was interrupted by Lolo riots. Afterwards the whole road was destroyed completely by the Lolo. In the first year of the Chinese Republic [1912], government soldiers stationed at Chao-chüeh were withdrawn and the Lolo rebelled. [5] In 1919 the city of Chao-chüeh was captured by the Lolo, who plundered, killed, and caused
131 great misery. Today the major part of Chao-chüeh county is

131 still in the hands of the Lolo. It remains the main passage for the Lolo in Liang Shan to Sikang province. Even the communication line between Hsi-ch'ang and Chao-chüeh is sometimes under their control.

175 Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty during the reign of
648 Emperor Kuang-hsü [1875-1907], because of the rebellions of the Lolo who occupied successively all the territories east of Huang-mao Kang, communication lines between the county seats and the towns were disrupted. Nevertheless, during that time the government still had a large number of troops in those areas and held quite a few villages and towns. For example, the area between Huang-lang and Lei-po was still Chinese territory without any disruption in communication. The other villages, such as San-ho K'ou, Yu-cha P'ing, Chung-shan P'ing, Lan-pa-tzu, Shan-leng Kang, Ma-ching-tzu, Hsi-su Chio, Hsiao-wu-chi, and I-tzu Ts'un, all remained in the hands of the Chinese. Although those villages could not be linked together, they still could help each other if something happened. Since the founding of the Republic of China the number of government troops stationed there has decreased and the Lolo have become stronger and more insubordinate. First, the Chinese lost Ch'ang-p'u-t'ien and so the communication line between Lei-po and Huang-lang was interrupted. Then Shan-leng Kang and Ma-ching-tzu were lost so that the western part of the city of Lei-po was threatened. With the loss of Yen-fêng Shan and Yu-cha P'ing, the road from Ma-pien to Ta-liang Shan was disconnected. Furthermore, the Chinese lost San-ho K'ou with the result that the connection between Ma-pien and O'pien was also disrupted. In 1937 the magistrate of Lei-po county, named Lo Mien-nan, was beaten to death by the Lolo at I-tzu Ts'un, but the government took no action against the rioters and since then its influence has further declined. So the Lolo have no fear of the government and have fomented more rebellions and disturbances in the last twenty years.

131 The Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan regions described
162 above cover about 900 li from Ma-pien county in the north to Chin-sha Chiang in the south, and about 600 li from Lei-po in the east to Chao-chüeh in the west. The population of this area, according to the author's estimate of the regions he has covered in the trip, includes approximately 200,000 Lolo.

121 Because of time limitations, the field team led by the author could not travel everywhere in Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan; so we could only use the area of our inspection as the basis for research (see Map 3). From I-pin upstream

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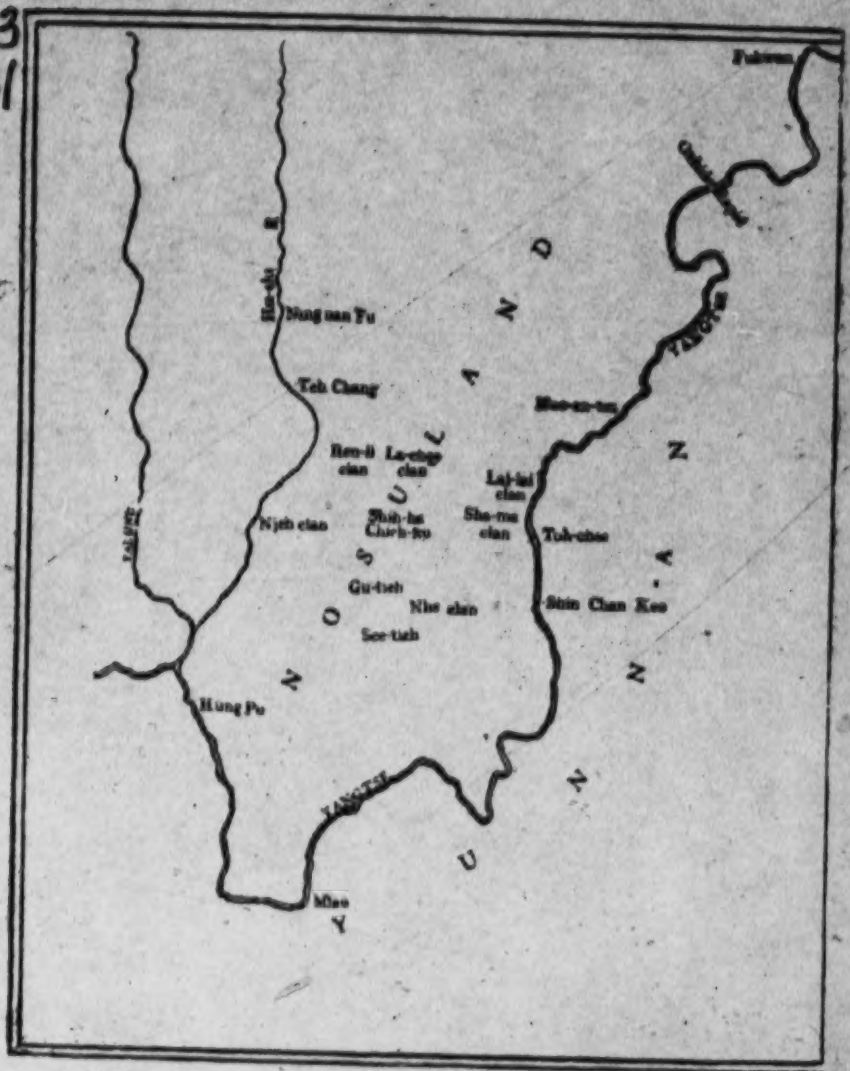

NOSULAND

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The terms "Lolo" and "Mantsz" are sometimes erroneously ascribed to these people; they are in reality terms of contempt applied by the Chinese, and are never used to the people themselves if a quarrel is not sought.

The information in the above sketch map was supplied by the author, who was the first white man to have resided amongst these wild but hospitable people, whose country has never been surveyed.

[p.16]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

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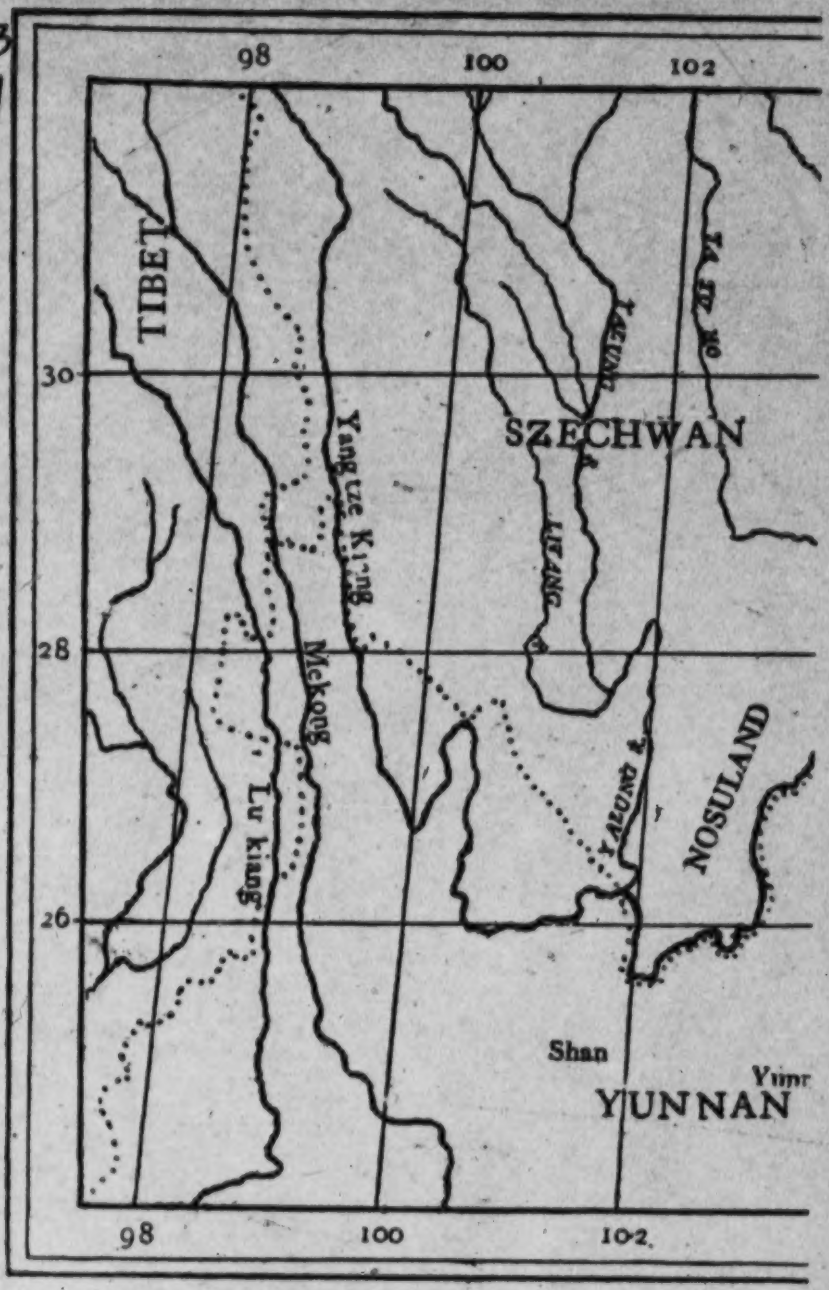

[Map facing p. 16]

[a.]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

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The Yangtse Kiang its Tribut

Nosuland lies between lat. 26

[Map facing p. 16 [6.]]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

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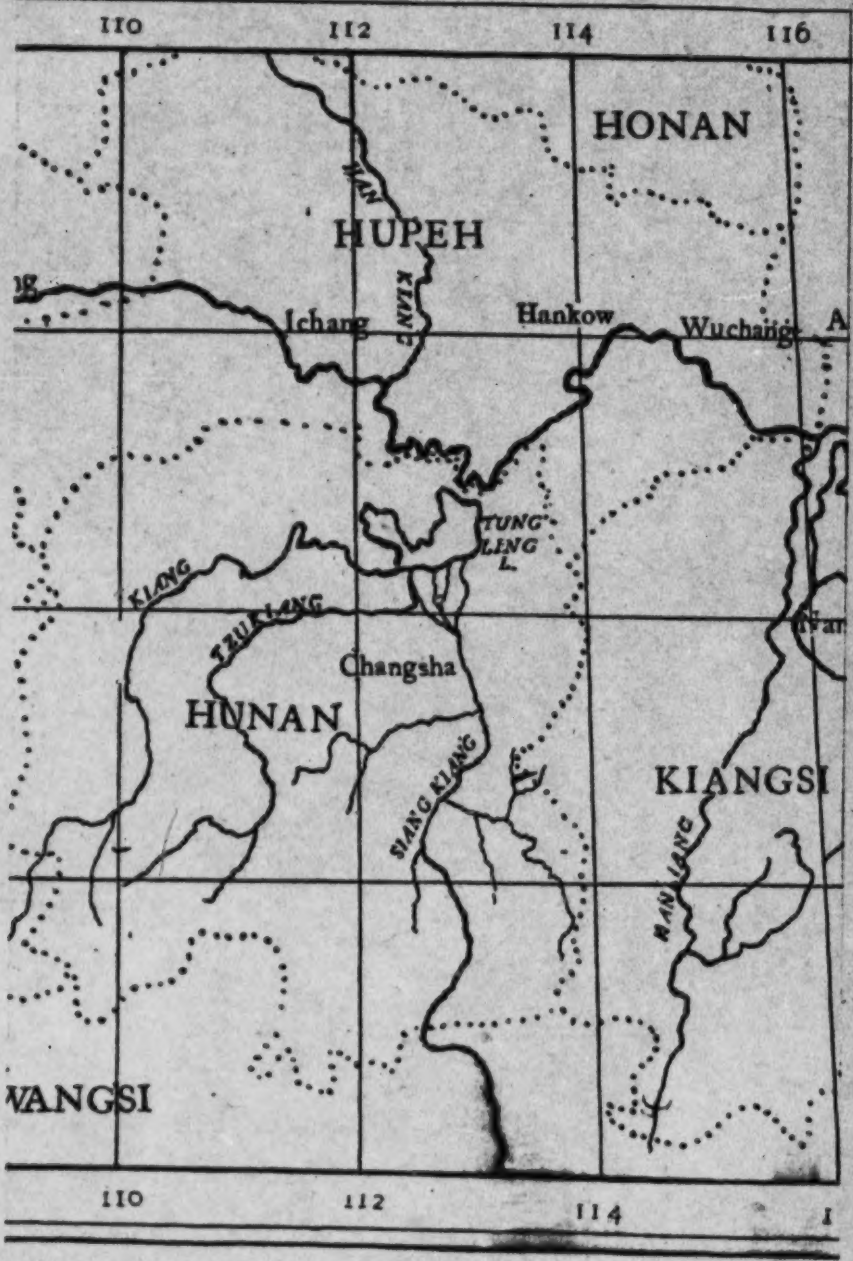

ibutaries and Bordering Provinces

26 and 28, and long. 102 and 104

[Map facing p. 16 [c.]]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

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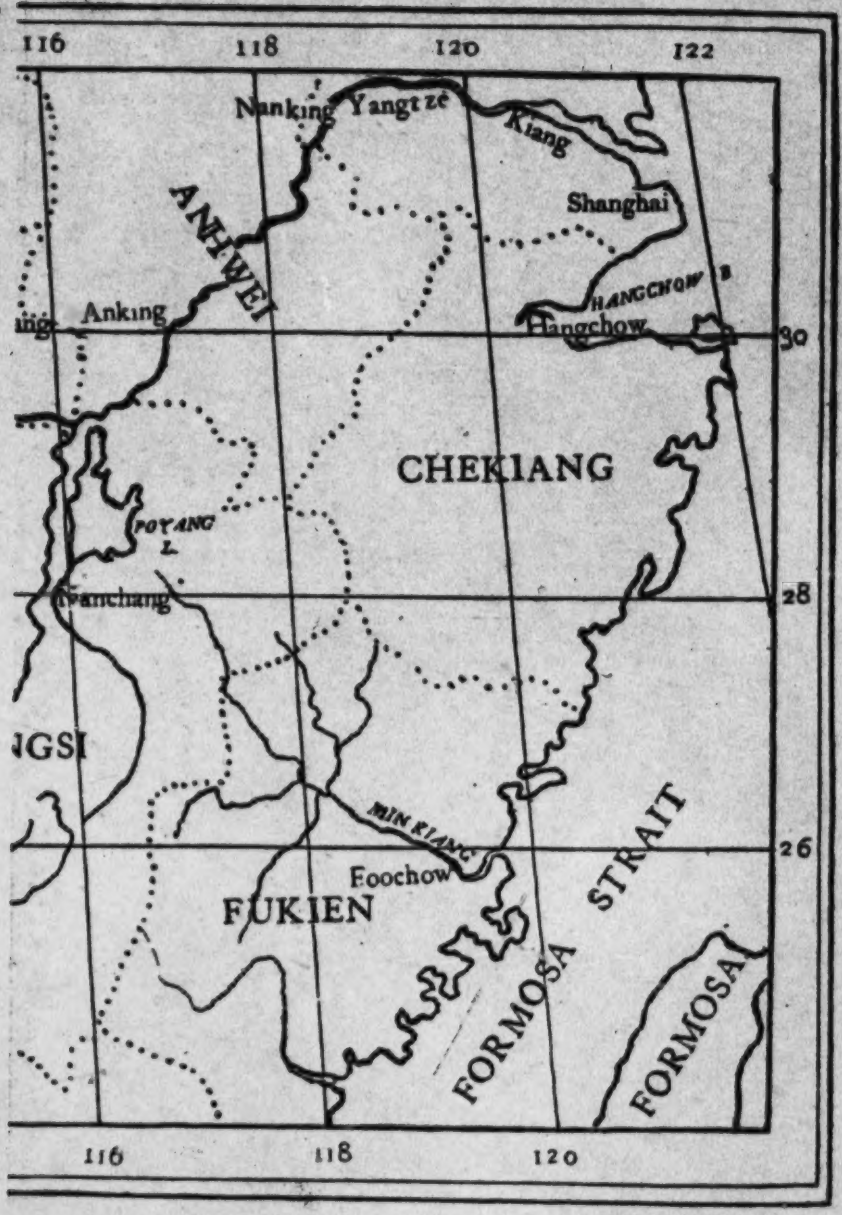

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[Map facing p. 16 [d.]]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

000 position in the flag the tribes of Yunnan and Kweichow held. He wrote back saying that in his opinion these peoples were included in the red bar, the Chinese bar holding the premier position at the head of the flag. As the tribes had submitted to the Chinese Government long ago, and were thereby entitled to the same privileges as the ordinary Sons of Han, the real Chinese, he concluded that they also were reckoned as Chinese. He said that he had met several of these men who had been elected to Parliament and concluded that they took their political stand by the side of the Chinese. Thus the aboriginals, in the opinion of this well-informed lawyer, were not included in the black Tibetan bar, but in the red Chinese bar. One can hardly imagine the whites of Australia treating their black aboriginals in this way, nor the Union Government of South Africa so treating the indentured Indians, who also are subjects of the great British Raj. When one studies closely the political statesmanship of the Chinese one can easily understand how the great empire has stood so long, weathering all changes, absorbing all conquerors, governing all conquered races, and as strong in the twentieth century as she was in the first. One is bewildered when one first attempts to classify all the tribes of Western China. Long inquiry, however, has led one to simplify them all into two or at most three races. I should divide all these peoples into Nosu, Miao and Shan. The Shan dwell in the western
• 131 parts of Yunnan and spread into Burma. The Nosu are all over Yunnan, in the west of Szechuan and in a small part of Kweichow. The Miao are found all over Kweichow, in some parts of Yunnan and in a few places in Szechuan. Nearly all the tribes one meets with in these three western provinces can be divided into these three classes. One bases

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

this division partly on similarity of customs among the different branches of the same class and partly on evidence furnished by the languages spoken by the various tribes.

The Nosu and Miao languages stand in one class and the Shan in another. In nearly all words of the first class the vowel ends the word. The trifling exception to this rule is found in words which end in "ng." These two languages are thus similar to the Japanese, where the same rule prevails. It can easily be noticed in such words as Yo-ko-ha-ma, Na-ga-sa-ki. In some words which have been taken from Chinese, whose language and literature have had great influence over the Island Kingdom, this vowel-ending rule has been modified, but in purely Japanese words the rule which is extant in Nosu and Miao prevails there also. This fact may strengthen the very reasonable idea held by some, that the Japanese race originally came from the east coast of China, where centuries ago the Miao races predominated. This vowel-ending rule, which gives great euphony to the languages, is broken when one comes to the Shan dialects, and one immediately concludes that the Shan belong to another race than the Nosu or Miao. On comparing the various dialects spoken by the different branches of the Nosu and Miao one soon sees that these two peoples have freely borrowed words from each other. The structure of the languages is, however, very different. In the Nosu languages the object follows the subject and precedes the verb. When one first came up against this peculiarity something very familiar seemed to touch one's brain. It seemed as if one had had a dream years ago, and then suddenly had run up against the places and events of the dream. After a while the ghost of Julius Cæsar appeared to one, and the memory

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

131

MAP OF CHINA.

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[Map facing p. 321]

the Three Kingdoms, and the majority of them obviously could not have been the descendants of Meng Huo. Perhaps this claim is merely an expression of hero worship--in the same way as the Chinese consider themselves descendants of Huang Ti /The Yellow Emperor/--with no further implications. 173

There is another myth among the Lolo concerning the origin of their tribes. It is said that Heaven had three sons: the eldest was an I, the second a Fan (Tibetan), and the youngest a Han. Heaven, favoring the youngest son, gave him the plains; he gave the hilly regions to the second son; and the high mountains and barren lands he left for the eldest (the I).

Of the native tribes in the southwestern part of our country, the Lolo are among the most numerous. They are distributed in the provinces of Szechwan, Sikang and Yünnan. The largest number is found in Yünnan province, next in Sikang province and the Ning districts. The question as to whether these tribes had always lived in these regions or whether they had migrated from elsewhere has yet to be examined. Chinese and Western specialists /94/ have expressed various opinions and have not yet been able to arrive at an agreement. The majority of them, however, think that the I tribes migrated from other places. Both the Chu-shu chi-nien /The Bamboo Annals/ and the T'ung-chien kang-mu /An outline of the Comprehensive Mirror, which is an abridged Chinese history/ maintain that Chih Yu, after his defeat in the north, retreated to the south, then further to the southwest, and lived in seclusion in the mountains. From him sprang the Miao and Lolo tribes of the southwestern border area. In his study "Lu-nan hsiang-tu li-shih ta-kang" /A Summary of the Local History of Lu-nan/ (in Lu-nan-hsien hsiang-t'u k'ao chi-yao)/A Critical Summary of the Local History of Lunan Hsien/ edited by Yang I-po and published by the Middle School of Yünnan University, the seventh month of the twenty eighth year of the Chinese Republic; mimeographed and not for sale) Mr. Li T'ing maintains that the Tibetan-Burmese group of Yünnan province (an intermediate tribal group, one branch of which is known as the I) probably migrated from the northwest. Many Western researchers assert that the Lolo came from the west (e.g., the boundary region between Tibet and Burma). Others think that they migrated westward from Kweichow province. On the other hand, there is also the so-called "indigenous theory" which says that the Lolo are natives of the southwest. This theory is quite possible, for they need not all have migrated. In this case the present-day Lolo of Liang-shan are no doubt the descendants

131 ● 173 166 175

177 Liang-shan. For this reason it is necessary for us to make a field study there. Such a study would be of particular interest to ethnographers, linguists and sociologists.

186 In Liang-shan one often finds mixtures of the original Wa-tzu (one type of I) and Chinese captives who have been forced to become Wa-tzu and thereafter have no way of escape. The distinct separation of the Wa-tzu and the Heh-I, who try very hard to maintain their purity, is handed down throughout the ages and cannot be overcome. [582] [834] There is no intermarriage between the Heh-I and the Wa-tzu. Should a Heh-I man rape a woman of the Wa-tzu class, it is considered an intolerable disgrace to the race. It is an even greater crime for a woman of the Heh-I class to have sexual intercourse with a male Wa-tzu, and the punishment for both guilty parties would be death. Such practices remind one of Germany under Hitler's rule. The reasons for the Heh-I's attempt to preserve /97/ racial purity and their practices in this respect are exactly the same as those of the Nazis. The boastful Heh-I likewise consider themselves the most accomplished race as well as the warrior class, and look upon the Chinese and other racial groups with con-
565 tempt. In Liang-shan society the relationship of the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is based on co-operation and the division of labor into three /sic/ categories the upper class Heh-I do not concern themselves with production but engage only in warfare and governing, thus forming a sort of warrior or ruling class; the Wa-tzu are the producers or agricultural labor class. This is almost exactly the same as Nazi Germany's national philosophy (stressing "Deutschland über alles" and intent on reducing the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, etc., to the status of laborers controlled by the Germans). It is possible to see from this that the prevalent Nazi theories are about to lead the world back to the Lolo stage.

177 The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan province and those in the Ning districts of Yueh-sui, Mien-ning, Yen-yüan, Yen-pien, etc. have
• 131 been very much sinified, and are known as "Shou-I." /sinified Lolo/.
[18] The fiercest and most overbearing of the I are concentrated in the Liang-shan region, in which Chao-chüeh and Lei-po have the most ruthless and complex branches, and Ma-pien and Ô-pien, by comparison, the gentlest and simplest. All the I areas in Lei-po hsien are part of the Hsiao Liang-shan region and are inhabited mostly by the Wa-tzu attached to the Heh-I of Ta Liang-shan. These Wa-tzu, although disposed to plunder, are not so fierce and haughty as their masters. The main region occupied by the so-called Sheng-I or Yen-I (those who have been very little sinified as compared with the Shou-I)

is in Chao-chüeh hsien west of Huang-mao-keng, and east of the Mei-ku River. 177 131.

In the past, because of the isolation of the various tribes along the Chinese frontier, the Government did not exercise real and complete control over them. These tribes were able to establish their own 624 rules and select their own leaders. After having conquered them, however, the Chinese have tried to win over these frontier people by appointing their leaders to the official posts of t'u-ssu /tribal chief/, t'u-ch'ien-hu /tribal head of 1,000 families/, etc., and to gain their ends through this indirect control. This is also the situation found in some of the Lolo regions, as well as in the Lolo district of Yuen-sui hsien, where likewise those who have been given the title of t'u-ssu do not have the actual functions of the office. But it is not true of Liang- 621 shan where organization is very lax and the people are divided into several independent branches called chia /families/. According to a study made by Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing, the most important branch in Lei-po hsien is the En-cha chia, also called the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--the combined name for Kan chia and P'u-t'ien chia--which is further divided into 11 branches: K'ung-p'u, Tou-o, Shih-kang, Li-pieh, Keng-erh, Shui-lu, Li-mien, A-chih, /98/ Wu-p'ao (also named Wu-p'o), Nuan-o, etc., thus constituting altogether 12 branches in the Kan P'u-t'ien chia. There are two more chia, the A-cho and A-lo (also named A-lu), which are very ruthless. These branches have always been the chief troublemakers in Lei-po hsien, where the I troubles were consequently the worst of the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. A-hou, Su-ko, and A-lo constitute the three chief branches in Chao-chüeh and have such substantial power that they once threatened to seize the entire hsien. The I of Ma-pien have always been divided into three groups: the center and left groups, consisting entirely of the members of the Wu-p'o chia, very seldom revolt; the right group alone, with branches called Hou-p'u and Shui-p'u--both belonging to the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--causes more damage. The Lolo of O-pien are said to consist of 13 branches, but they belong in reality to the same clan as the Kan chia. Formerly a member of the Kan chia named "Chao-tzu" had four sons, from whom sprang the 13 branches that live along the border of Ô-pien hsien. They are generally docile and not prosperous, and cause very little damage. I troubles in O-pien have therefore never been as violent as those in Lei-po and Chao-chüeh.

All the chia mentioned above are Heh-I branches, and the names are transliterations of I words. The Wa-tzu belong to their

621 masters and do not form branches of their own. The chia names of the Heh-I correspond probably to the family names of the Chinese; e.g., En-cha chia, Wu-p'o chia, Mo-shih chia, etc., correspond
551 to our Wang (Wang chia), Chang, Li, etc. The Heh-I use their chia names as their family names, and have given names in addition; e.g., the full name of the present head of Mo-shih chia is Mo-shih T'ieh-ha. The Wa-tzu also have family names but do not constitute additional branches; e.g., a Wa-tzu of Wu-p'o chia is called Mu-chia Wu-ch'i, Mu-chia being his family name and Wu-ch'i his given name, but in addressing others he always refers to himself as "Wu-p'o chia's Wa-tzu, Mu-chia Wu-ch'i," in order to show the Heh-I branch to which he belongs.

131 From personal experience and from friends' accounts, it is known that the various Heh-I branches in the section of Liang-shan (from Chao-chieh to Lei-po) visited by the author himself are distributed more or less in the following manner: The chief branches in the vicinity of Chao-chieh hsien are the Pa-chu chia--fierce, and frequently attacking the hsien city--and the comparatively more friendly Wa-cha chia. Toward the east, in the vicintiy of Chu-heh-suo, is the Ma chia, a large clan inhabiting the bulk of the region between Hsi-ch'ang and Chao-chieh. Further east, the Wu-p'o chia (also known as the Wu-p'ao)--less populous, friendly and weak--is the principal group inhabiting the region on the route northward to O-pien. Still further east, past the Mei-ku River, is the territory of the A-lu chia, who are a typical Sheng-I people, /99/ ruthless, treacherous, and difficult to deal with. Past the Mei-ku River, around the section of Yeh-lu-na-ta, is the territory of the Mo-shih chia, a small clan in Liang-shan. In spite of its situation in the midst of the Sheng-I, it has always been friendly with others and has only a few enemies. (En-cha chia is its only enemy.) It is therefore safer not only for the Chinese (including the academic groups and the ordinary merchants) to engage this chia as protector, but also for the I when they go out shopping and have to pass through enemy territory. Mo-shih chia is the most popular in the I region, and seems better disposed toward the Chinese. The territory from the east of Mo-shih chia to Huang-mao-keng is under the dominance of the A-hou chia, which is the most populous as well as the fiercest clan in Liang-shan, indulging continuously in murder and plunder. With the exception of some temporary sheepfolds in the area, there is generally no habitation at the summit of Huang-mao-keng. There are, however, scattered

branches of the Heh-I surrounding this mountain range: on the west the A-lu chia, on the north the A-hou chia, on the south the Sha-ma chia, and on the east the Wu-ch'i chia. With the exception of the A-hou chia, the Wu-ch'i (also called Mu-ch'i, Wu-ch'i, or A-cho) and En-ssu are the most numerous and the most ruthless groups; they are the chief occupants of the territory east of Huang-mao-keng in the section of Hsiao Liang-shan close to the mountain summit. This district is also inhabited by the friendly P'u-ch'i chia (also called P'u-chi). Descending the mountain and approaching Lei-po, one finds the quiet and peaceful Heh-I of Hu chia. The foregoing statements are all based on the author's personal knowledge. 131

One might compare the Lolo of Liang-shan to scattered sand. The Heh-I are separated into branches of different sizes and strength and are not interdependent. Needless to say, the weaker branches must at times submit to the stronger, but in theory at least, they are entirely equal; no branch is required to obey another, and there is no such thing as central organization or ruler-and-subject relationship. The relation between the separate branches of a chia, compared to the relation between different chia, is much closer. An elderly and capable Heh-I may often become a natural leader, tacitly accepted by everyone, and may govern and lead his chia without a formal grant of power. Mo-shih T'ieh-ha, who lives in Yeh-lu-na-ta, is an example of this type of leader. He may represent his chia, participate in the conferences called by the Chineses officials or in the joint conferences of the various branches of Heh-I. 621

Every chia in the I region of Liang-shan occupies a definite area and forms a sort of independent little state. The I of the same branch are closely tied, exchange mutual aid and care, and fight together when oppressed by another branch. The Heh-I of different branches, if related by marriage, /100/ exchange similar aid. Otherwise the habitual practice of the two I branches which are in no way connected is non-interference or incessant warfare--if they are enemies. The Lolo of the Liang-shan region can be persuaded to join forces only for opposition to the Chinese; on such an occasion they temporarily forget their enmity, discard former grievances, and unite against a common enemy. Thus they seem to display the spirit of "brothers who end their own strifes so as to resist outside aggression." Co-operative measures are then decided upon jointly through consultation of their leaders. Thus it may be said that a kind of primitive,

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao
Lolo AEH

their westward migration movement.

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Of the southwestern tribes peoples, the Miao are the latest to migrate. Although Yun-nan, Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi are large and sparsely populated, the arable mountain lands have long since been occupied by the Lolo and other tribal peoples. The Miao are thus unable to find large blocks of territory which they can occupy in compact groups. They have had to scatter, therefore, each tribe finding its own Lebensraum. They are without overall political organization in this migration and also are without any definite goal of migration. Having come late on the scene among the southern mountain peoples, they must take what is left and thus are forced to the highest altitudes which are not yet occupied, although in Kuei-chou they inhabit the land from 3000 feet and up above sea-level.[37] Nevertheless, they are consumers of some importance and are significant in the province's production and commerce.[38]

7. The Lolo in Ssu-ch'uan and Hsi-k'ang

The following account of the Lolos is a translation from Lin Yueh-hua, Liang-shan Yi-chia, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1947, p. 3-5, 9, 13:

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The center of Lolo power is in the Ta-liang Shan (Great Liang Mountains) in the southwestern corner of Ssu-ch'uan Province and easternmost Hsi-k'ang. From here it spreads out into the Hsiao-Liang Shan (Lesser Liang Mountains) and fans out in all directions. The Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Mountain block occupies an area about 300 miles long north and south and some 200 miles east and west in the districts of Ping-shan, Lei-po, Ma-pien, and Ngo-pien, in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and Chao-chio, Yueh-sui, and Hsi-ch'ang in Hsi-k'ang Province. In this area the Lolo population numbers about 200,000. The Lolo stronghold is uncontrolled by the Han-Chinese. The Liang Shan have been the Lolo habitat as far back as history can be traced here, over 2000 years. There are few traces of Han-Chinese within their domain.

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The Hsiao-Liang Shan is the contact zone between Han-Chinese and Lolo. Political influence and control here fluctuates between the two groups. When Han-Chinese political power here is in ascendancy, the Lolo for the most part move westward to Huang-mao-kang (Huang-

[101 cont.]

La 101 131 The "Lao" belong to the "Thai" tribes that have given their name to the present province of Laos. They are represented in Tonkin by only a few families, in the sectors of Hoang-su-phi and La of Dongvan. Rather large groupings of "Lao" are established in the [648] Chinese canton of Tu-long, opposite Man-mei. Often persecuted by the "Thai" they have drawn close to the "Meo," whose manner of life they share.

The "Pen-ti-lolo" (1)

1. See note under "Lao" above.
[page 110]

Lo 101 The "Pen-ti-lolo," whose name signifies "Lolo aborigines," belong by their dialect and most of their customs to the "Thai" group, despite the denomination of "Lolo" which is given them. They are likewise known by the name of "La-qua." The "Thai" call them "Mong"; they call themselves by the name of "Ca-beo."

Lo 161 [102] From 150 to 200 representatives of them are found in the sectors of Yen Minh and of Pho Bang, where they appear to have been settled from a very remote period, previous to the arrival of the "Meo." They are decadent and in the process of being absorbed by the Lo 142 "Meo." The typical man is tall, slim, vigorous in appearance. The women are stylish; their skin is whiter than that of the women of the Lo 291 neighboring tribes. They wear garments often decorated with embroidery and appliquéd with material of various colors.

Lo 301 584 (Photo 465, Plate 30, shows a young "Pou-piao-lolo" girl (left) and a young "Pen-ti-lolo" woman (right). On the latter is seen the jewelry characteristic of this tribe, consisting of a long necklace of white beads wound round a great many times and covering almost the entire breast. This is the traditional engagement present.)

The "Pou-piao-lolo"

Lo 101 131 The "Pou-piao-lolo" are settled to the number of about twenty families in the same sectors as the "Pen-ti-lolo" and near them, who

Kuan Yao AE6
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Lolo AE4

L
131 [102 cont.]
101 are very close relatives of theirs. The garments of the women are
[291] analogous to those of the "Pen-ti-lolo," but less decorated.
585 Marriages always take place during the winter.
L
764 The women follow the funeral corteges weeping, in the manner of the Annamese weeping women. When the head of a family has been buried, his sons keep a fire burning on his grave for nine days.

The "La-ti" (1)

1. See note 1 under "Lao" on page 110.

S
101 The "La-ti," most of whom are settled in the Chinese canton
131 of Tu-long, are represented in Tonkin by about one hundred families, in the sectors of Xin Man and of Man Mei. They are also called "La-chi"; they call themselves by the name of "A-Khu" (the men). Their classification in the "Thai" group is rather doubtful.

[103] CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

[104] [Blank page in original text.]

[105] CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

Y
101 The term "Man" in the Chinese language literally signifies "rude barbarians." It is the name given by the Chinese to all the populations of foreign race inhabiting the southern borders of the empire.

The Chinese also call the group "Yao," which we designate by the name "Man," but bearing in mind the fact that many of the neighboring groups (Thai, Annamese, Chinese of Upper Tonkin and

[169 cont.]

M 524 in a vertical direction, and each of its ends may lift themselves up to a height double that of the post. A youngster takes his place (astraddle or on his stomach) at each end of the pole, to which a rather rapid movement of horizontal rotation is given, combined with a vertical movement. These movements are induced by each one of the youngsters, who in his turn pushes against the ground. (Photo 168, Plate 42, shows one of these turning seesaws.) Some M [536] [231] "Méo" are strolling entertainers and train performing monkeys. (Photo 385, Plate 42.)

M 231 We have found, in a rather large number of "Méo" homes, the [170] blackbirds known by the name of "mandarin blackbirds." They are slightly larger than our blackbirds. The beak is big and yellow; they have a hood and a little collar of yellow skin. Their ability to imitate is certainly surprising, for, not content with whistling like ordinary blackbirds, they imitate perfectly all the noises they hear: wails of the newborn, whinnying of horses, baying of dogs, coughs, gurglings of the water pipe, gratings of doors, and so on. These birds sell for very high prices.

[171] [Blank page in original text.]

[172] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

[173] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

L 101 ● 131 161 The "Lolo," who form sizeable groupings in the provinces in the south of China, are represented in Tonkinese territory by only a few tribes, very unequally distributed along the frontier, from Baolac to near Phongtho, the total number of individuals in them scarcely exceeding 12,000.

L 131 36 The densest settlements are found in the region of Baolac, which contain the majority of the group, whose villages are more or

[173 cont.]

131 less scattered about among the "Man" and "Méo" villages. Every-
361 where else, in the regions of Dongvan, Yen-Minh, Hoang-su-phi, Muongkhuong, Coc-leu, Baoha, Trinh-Tuong, Phongtho, the "Lolo" form merely dispersed hamlets, each consisting of only a small number of cabins.

All the "Lolo" assert that their settlement in Tonkin goes back
173 to a very remote period, which certain of them indicate as about the beginning of the Christian era, a time when the "Lolo" formed a powerful state in eastern Yunnan, whose southern boundaries very closely approximated our present Tonkin frontier. As we have indicated in Chapter I, we have very often found in Tonkin "Lolo" in contact with the "Thai," who have not ceased dominating them and holding them in a completely subordinate position. Be that as it may, these tribes appear very long ago to have cut the ties that
[101] bound them to the large groupings from which they originated, and
[177] little by little they are losing their special characteristics, while adopting the mores and beliefs of the other groups among whom they live, "Thai," "Man," or "Méo."

128 [174] We shall study more particularly in this chapter the following tribes:

The "Lolo," properly speaking.
The "Fou-la."
The "Xa-pho."
The "Ho-nhi."

101 We have already seen in Chapter II that certain tribes designated by the name of "Lolo" ("Pen-ti-lolo," "Pou-piao-lolo") had better be classed in the "Thai" group which has absorbed them and with which their dialects and their costumes connect them.

[175]

The "Lolo"

101 This important tribe, by far the most numerous of the group,
131 is settled exclusively in the mountains of the region of Baolac, in direct contact with the "Méo."

[181 cont.]

769 778 nine knots for a woman, serve as armatures for figurines made from tufts of paper. These figurines, which are of a height of about ten centimeters, are fastened to the partition which forms the ancestral altar.

793 The "Lolo" have priests-sorcerers who pass down the traditions by word of mouth.

181 53 The "Lolo" are of a rather happy disposition, and like the "Meo" they neglect no opportunity for feasting. They perform singing dances, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. These dances are accompanied by the musical instruments of which we have spoken above.

[182] The "F'ou-la"

101 [131] The "F'ou-la" form a tribe of the "Lolo" group which is represented in Tonkin by only a hundred people, spread in small hamlets the length of the frontier, in the regions of Hoang-Su-Phi, Muong-khuong, and Baxat.

The "Thai" call them the "P'ou-la."

In their dialect, the "F'ou-la" call themselves by the name of "Peu-pa."

101 582 [167] Like the other "Lolo," the "F'ou-la" come from the provinces of the south of China and are extremely mixed with the other tribes of the frontier zone, but they also preserve their original characters by avoiding all intermarriage with their neighbors. They maintain their special type as described above with reference to the "Lolo." [181] They are timid and gentle, which constitutes a weakness in relation to the neighboring tribes, who are more energetic.

197 The vocabulary of the "F'ou-la" differs noticeably from that of the "Lolo," but evidently is related to the dialects of the group; the sentence structure is identical with that of the "Lolo."

212 198 They are not acquainted with any writing; they employ Chinese characters. Their language of commerce is the "kouan-hoa."

342 231 The "F'ou-la" live in cabins of two principal models:

1. Cabins on piles, of the type used among the "Thai," but consisting of a flooring raised only a very little above the ground

[185] The "Xa-pho"

101 The name of "Xa-pho" is used to designate rather important
● 131 "Lolo" tribes, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 individuals, which
161 are settled on the right bank of the Red River in the regions of Baoha and of Coc-Leu, mixed with "Thai" and with "Nhang.

These tribes call themselves the "Lao-pa."

The "Xa-pho" are rather closely related to the "F'ou-la,"
181 Even more timid than the latter, they have allowed themselves to be
648 completely dominated by the "Thai," who often treat them as veritable slaves, available to perform forced labor or to pay taxes without mercy. Moreover, the "Xa-pho" accept this inferior position, which they appear to have no desire to alter.

The costumes of the women resemble those of the "F'ou-la,"
291 but the jacket is shorter and it is edged by a wide band on which are
531 embroidered lozenges filled with multicolored designs.

The dialect has many analogies to the "F'ou-la" dialect. The
197 language of commerce is the "Thai" and sometimes Annamese.

The mores and customs of the "Xa-pho" come closer and closer
177 to those of the "Thai" and of the "Nhang" among whom they live.
342 The cabins, which are very clean, are most frequently of the type
361 built on piles. The hamlets are not far from the rice fields, but always located on the slopes of the hillsides.

771 No more than the other "Lolo," the "Xa-pho" have neither a
769 religion nor beliefs which are well defined, beyond a vague worship rendered to their ancestors. They are very little interested in matters concerning souls and spirits.

They have very few legends. They appear to be totally ignorant
773 of that of the deluge, which, nevertheless, is known, with numerous variations, by almost all of other tribes of Upper Tonkin. They have preserved one which explains in the following manner the required style of the "Lolo" jackets: The first human couple had four sons from whom are descended the four principal races of the region:

[101] The "Xa-pho" called "Lao-pa."
The "Thai" called "Gia-lo-pa."

[185 cont.]

773 The "Man" called "Yem-pa."
[101] The "Meo" called "Méo-pa."

[186] When the mother was making the first garment for her children, she commenced with the ancestors of the "Thai" and of the "Man," to whom she gave very good measure. Next, the piece of material being more than half used up, she cut shorter the garment for the ancestor of the "Méo." After this so little material remained that the ancestor of the "Xa-pho" could have only the little jacket still worn by the "Lolo."

[187] The "Ho-nhi"

101 This "Lolo" tribe is represented in Tonkin, between Phongtho
● 131 and Trinhthuong, only by a few hamlets containing a total of from
161 200 to 300 individuals. Important groupings of "Ho-nhi" are settled in southern Ynnnan, particularly in the region of Pou-eurl. They still are called by the names of "Ouo-ni" or "Wo-ni."

[167] They come from western Yunnan.

They have the general appearance of the "Méo," but they
142 have skin noticeably darker than the latter. They have very sturdy
147 constitutions, but are of a gentle and apprehensive disposition which
181 impels them to isolation.

They speak a "Lolo" dialect rather different from that of the
197 other tribes of the group. They use the "kouan-hoa" as their com-
198 mercial language. They have a very limited number of literate
212 persons.

The costume of the men resembles that of the "Méo" of the
291 region, but the blue color of the costume is a very dark shade.
[177] The women likewise wear clothing of a very dark-blue material, which includes the following:

1. A jacket reaching down to the knees. This jacket is slit on the left side from the bottom up to the belt. The front is lifted up and fastened to the belt on the right side.

2. A breast covering of triangular shape. The point of the triangle is at the top, held about the neck by a cord. The lower

101 The Ho Nhi may apparently be connected with the Lolo group
197 because of their language. There are very few of them in Tonkin,
•131 and they are settled at the extreme western part of the Chinese frontier.
342 Their cabins, built on the soil itself, have roofs which come down
291 very low and mud walls. The men's clothing is of the style usual among the mountaineers and very dark blue in color. The women wear a garment of the same basic color, consisting of a long tunic whose inner skirt is raised up on the right hip, and a breast-covering, wide trousers descending to the knee, and leggings which are put on like stockings and tied up with garters. Their headdress is made by placing
[302] a dark blue kerchief over their chignon whose fringes drop to each side of the face, and they put on top of this a leather crown trimmed with little silver bells.

/150/ Section 3

Customs and Religious Ideas

771 The customs of the Lolo who have immigrated to Tonkin have not been preserved in their primitive purity and frequently are full of customs of the neighboring ethnic groups. Detailed study of them, therefore, will not be interesting from an ethnographic point of view. We shall only point out those which include some trace of characteristic mores.

[581] Customs relating to marriage are very obviously the same as among the Meo. Those relating to death have certain unusual character-
764 istics. Thus, among the Kan tao Lolo or "cutters of heads," the dead are buried without any coffins and a hollowed-out bamboo extends from the head of the corpse and comes out above ground level. When the children of the deceased think that decomposition of the corpse must be completed, they make certain by placing their nose at the upper end of the bamboo. When no further odor emanates, they proceed to exhume the head of the corpse and place it in a basket which they expose to view in their cabin. The object of this rite is the revival each day of the memory of their deceased relative.

769 The ancestors' tablet among the Lolo is made up of a paper figurine which is hung up on the partition of the cabin.

When the anniversary of a deceased relative is to be celebrated, a mannequin is constructed, stood up and dressed so as to recall the one whose memory they wish to honor. Women come to sing and